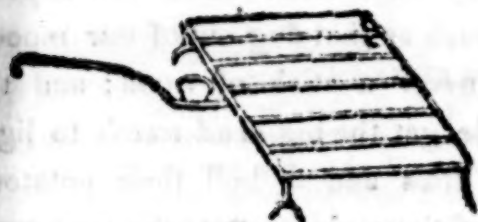


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 86.—No. 2.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11TH, 1834.

[Price 1s 2d.]



TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.

City of Kilkenny, 1. Oct., 1834.

MARSHALL,

FROM Dublin to this city is about 70 English miles. Very fine land all the way, except in very few places, and there the land is better than the greater part of the inclosed land in our part of Surrey; and, as to our *commons*, these people could not be made to believe, that there is any land so poor in the world; and yet I shall have to tell you presently, that those who do the work on this fine land, are in a state of poverty the most complete. When I get home, I will put INTO A LITTLE BOOK a full account of all that I see here. I only tell you in these letters, of such things as you can well understand; such things as will enable you to judge of the real state of the working people in this fine country; such things as will serve to show you what the Scotch, crawling vagabonds are endeavouring to persuade the Parliament to make you and your children submit to;

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giving you to understand, at the same time, that the *Scotch nation*, who are as good people as any in the world, detest and abhor these vagabonds as much as I do.

In coming from Dublin I came through a horse-fair in a little town. I should think that there were two thousand horses, and none of them what we call *large* horses; but, there was not a *poor* one amongst them all; and I have not seen a *poor* horse, colt, cow, ox, steer, heifer, sheep, hog, pig, goose, or turkey, or fowl, since I came into the country; *man* and *woman*, and *working* man and woman, are the only animals that suffer here from hunger and cold.

In this city of Kilkenny (which is the capital of a county of the same name), which is beautifully situated on a fine river, and which contains more than twenty thousand people, there are two societies for *assisting the poor*, one called the *charitable*, the other the *benevolent*. These societies make collections of money to relieve the poor; but, so great is the number of these poor, so low the wages, so great and horrible the want, that these societies have been obliged to refuse all assistance to such as are *able to beg*; and also, to all persons who are *able to get one meal in 24 hours, of the very worst sort of potatoes, which they call "LUMPERS."* And mind, MARSHALL, I have the proof of these facts under the assurance of gentlemen of the city, and under the hands of the managers of these very societies.

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And, MARSHALL, I beg you all to mind what I say, this is the state to which, it is my firm belief, all of you and your children will come, if you do not do your duty by petitioning the Parliament to protect you. If the *poor-laws* of England be put down, this is the state to which you must come; and about that great matter I will tell you another time; so that you and all of you may understand what to do.

I told you, in my first letter, that I saw fine *Swedish Turnips* and *Mangel-Wurzel*. They belonged to a rich gentleman, who got some of my seed. I have not seen another piece of either in the country! Having seen the people in the *cities*, I went, yesterday, to see them *in the country*; and I saw the state of both *labourers* and *farmers*. There was one village with about as many houses as there are in the village of *Asn*, about 70 or 80 perhaps, the scattered ones and all. The places, which I call houses, were, in general from ten to twelve feet square; the walls made of rough stone and mud, whited over, and about nine feet high; no ceiling; rough rafters covered with old rotten black thatch; in some a glass window the size of your hat, in two or four little panes; in others no window at all; but a hole or two holes in the wall; about a foot long, and four or five inches wide; the floor nothing but the bare earth; no chimney, but, a hole at one end of the roof to let out the smoke, arising from a fire made against the wall of that end of this miserable shed; this hole is sometimes surrounded by a few stones put on that part of the roof a foot or two high; generally it is not,

and, in cold weather the poor, ragged, half-naked creatures *stop up the hole to keep in the smoke to keep them from perishing with cold!* The fuel is *peat*, just such as that dug out of our moors, and never a stick of wood; and the people get the big *dead weeds* to light their fires and to boil their potatoes. One of these places costs the landowner about *four pounds* to build it, and the poor creatures pay from *thirty shillings* to *two pounds* a year rent for them, without any garden, without an inch of land, without any place for even a *privy*, WOMEN as well as men must go to the *dung-heap before the door*, and the former are exposed to that which your wife, or any woman of Normandy, would die at the thought of! And, MARSHALL, this is the state to which the crawling and greedy Scotch vagabonds would fain have the Parliament reduce you, in order to enrich the landowners, hoping to get from them rewards for their schemes. But, will our member of Parliament, Mr. LEECH, listen to such damnable advice? No; and it is our bounden duty to support him in his opposition to all such hard-hearted schemes,

As to the *goods* in the hole, there are, an *iron pot*, a *rough table*, or a *board laid across two piles of stones*, seats of stones, or of boards laid from one stone to another; and that is all the stock of goods, except a *dish*, of which I shall speak presently. Every hole has a pig; the pig eats with the family, and generally sleeps in the same place. The potatoes are taken up and turned out into a great *dish*, which dish is a shallow basket made of *oziers* with the

bark on. The family squat round this basket and take out the potatoes with their hands; the pig stands and is helped by some one, and sometimes he eats out of the pot. He goes in and out and about the hole, like one of the family; the family sleep, huddled up together, on dead weeds or a little straw in one corner of the hole, and the pig, on a similar bed, in another corner. The pig is the person of most consequence; he is sold to *pay the rent*: if he fail, the family are turned out into the naked air to perish, which has been the case in many thousands of instances, there being *no poor-law* here to save their lives.

I must speak to you about *the farmers* in my next letter. In the meanwhile pay great attention to what I have said here; and all of you make up your minds to be brought into this state, or *resolve* to do your duty in the manner that I have before described. Men are brought into this state by *little and little*, until at last they cannot help themselves. Mind this! And attend, all of you, to the advice of

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
EARL OF RADNOR.
(A DIGRESSION).

MY LORD, *Waterford, 3. Oct., 1834.*

I HAVE two more letters (4. and 5.) to your lordship already written, and a *sixth* begun. But this new scene and its matter press upon me in a manner that demands more immediate attention.

I *know* that your lordship does not wish to see the people of England reduced to the state which I have above truly described in my letter to MARSHALL: I *know* that, and it would be criminal in me not to declare it in this positive manner; but I also *know* that there are men, or rather monsters, who do wish it; and I have shown that there is reason to fear that you are not, and have not been, sufficiently on your guard against such men.

LORD ALTHORP made the strange declaration, that "*he must be a bold man indeed who would again bring the POOR-LAW BILL into the House of Commons,*" if it were postponed till the next session! Without commenting on this declaration, may I not say, that *he must be a bold man indeed who will oppose the REPEAL of it?* If, however, there be a man bold enough for this he shall, if I have life and health till the next session, be furnished with a fair opportunity to show his boldness.

But, my lord, what think you of the *present price of wheat?* It is here, at Waterford (24 hours from an English market), *27s. the English quarter!* The *half-drunk crack-skulled Scotch feelosofers*, who are driven mad by their eagerness to get a share of the wages of our labourers and artisans, will ask what the *price of wheat* has to do with the execution of the fine "*Poor-Law Amendment Bill.*" But you, my lord, are neither half-drunk, nor are you crack-skulled; and you know what this price of wheat will have to do, not only with the poor-law affair, but with *all other* affairs. You know that one of *three things* must take place:

1. One-pound notes and legal tender.
2. A reduction of the interest of the debt.

3. A total loss to *the present owners* of nine-tenths of the landed estates.

As to the FIRST: it would be a robbery of the fundholders; a similar robbery of the savings' banks people; a similar robbery of all mortgagees and annuitants and creditors of every description; it would work nicely with the *soldier* and the *sailor*! It would be an issue of assignats; it would produce *two prices*; it would be uproar and confusion.

As to the SECOND: *last year* it would have been just, because we *then* deemed ourselves *all*, high and low, *as having an interest in the land*. We thought that, in case of want, we all had a *right* to come for relief to the land. But being now told that we have no such right; that we have *no right* even to be *upon it*; and knowing, or being told, that the debt was contracted *for the defence of the land*, justice says, that *the land ought to pay it*, the fact being quite clear that the debt is a *mortgage on the land*; and that, if the landowners cannot pay *the interest*, the law must have its due course against the land itself; and it will be the duty of the great body of the people to see *the mortgagees righted*! As long as our *right to a share* in the land was taken for granted, we deemed ourselves in the same boat with the landowners: they seem to think it wise to toss us out of the boat; and now then let them get along *alone* as well as they can. Never shall the proposition for an "EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT" come

from my lips or drop from my pen again.

The case is totally changed: our *labour* could not be mortgaged: the *land* could be, and is: and now let every man, according to his means and capacity, maintain the rights of the mortgagees. Ah! Mother Martineau and Brougham and Peter Thimble do not seem to have anticipated *this consequence* of their projects!

As to the THIRD; it is *now* a matter of total indifference *to us*. The estates will change hands: but the new landowners can hardly do more than have *six votes* each in every vestry and vote them by *proxy*. Poh! The Jews would, in one respect, be greatly preferable, because, forbidden by their *religion* to eat *hares*, they would not send so many of us to jail and Botany Bay for killing or being in pursuit of those animals. Ah! Mother Martineau may exclaim; but "how are the fundholders to take possession of the land?" I will, another time, tell her and Brougham and Peter Thimble how this is to be done, in the most easy possible manner. A short act of Parliament will do the business at once, and with far less noise and talk than take place every quarter sessions of a county.

But, my lord, will not the world, who knows that we have "the *greatest Captain of the age*," (who has bullet-proof window-shutters); that we have, for law-makers, "the *noblest assembly*" of freemen upon the face of the earth; that we have (so full are we of Scotch science) an "Imperial measure," regulated by the beating of a pendulum, in a heat of sixty degrees by Fahrenheit's thermometer; that we have Ministers,

who march, lock-step, to "the spirit of the age"; that we have Peter Thimble and Mother Martineau and Parson Malthus and Carlile for our guides as to population; that we have Senior and Cowell and penny-a-line Chadwick and Bishop Bloomfield (brother to one of sinecure Daddy Coke's *big farmers*), and Sturges Bourne and Frankland Lewis; and, though last not least, your lordship's *admired* PARSON LOWE and his hired overseer, Crook, to lead us into all truth relative to the poor: will not the world, who knows all this, and who knows besides, that we have Lord Althorp to manage our money affairs, and Lord Melbourne to direct the whole: will not the world be struck with astonishment, that we should be plunged into ALARM by God's sending us such an abundance of wheat as to make it sell for 27s. a quarter?

For the present, my lord, I must conclude, but not without repeating the declaration, that, though I know you have committed a great error, and though I fear it will lead to fatal consequences, I also know that you have not been actuated by any selfish or bad motive.

I am, therefore,
Always with the greatest respect,
Your lordship's most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
LORD ALTHORP.

Waterford, 4. Oct., 1834.

MY LORD,

THOUGH rambling about in Ireland, I see a little of the goings on amongst your *enfants chéris*, the *blacks*! Your lordship remembers the stentorian and

sensible cheers which stunned us when FOWEL BUXTON presented, with the assistance of the two door-keepers (who seemed to me to blush at the delusion which they were mechanically assisting to keep up), the petition of his *two hundred and seventy-eight thousand ENGLISH FEMALES*, in behalf of the *fat and muscular* black fellows, and not one of whose tender bosoms ever heaved a sigh for the millions of real sufferers of their own sex in Ireland, who raise a large part of the food that Buxton's tender-hearted and crack-skulled and canting petitioners eat, and who would be glad of the offal left by the blacks: your lordship must remember those cheers; and you may remember that I voted against giving one single farthing of that TWENTY MILLIONS, which would have bought all the incumbencies and all the advowsons in Ireland, and would have removed one great cause of the troubles of a country and a people that ought to be as dear to us as our own country and countrymen: and you ought to remember also your telling us that "*all Europe* was filled with *admiration* at our *generous humanity*." I thought that if this were so, "*all Europe*" was a fool, or was imposed on by the Yorkshire cant.

First or last, that measure must ruin the sugar colonies; and, according to appearances, the ruin is already coming. However, it is merely a *question of time*: that the ruin will come is certain; and then we shall hear what you have to say. I do not care a straw about the colonies; it is the *money*, the 800,000*l.* a year, that I care for. Why pay this money; why *tax us* to get the means of revolutionizing the colonies? This will be a memorable instance of the just punishment of CANT. A canting conventicle is bad enough; but a canting government is a despicable thing indeed.

Hoping, that, at any rate, the blacks will not *cost* us any thing more; hoping that you will ask for no more of my constituents' *money* for them, I am

Your lordship's
Most obedient and humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

HERE follow *addresses* to me, and my *answers*. It would be no more than *right*, if the insertion of these were merely to run so much up under the noses of the *Greys*, the *Lambs*, and the *Broughams*, and all those of them who aimed at destroying me in 1831; no more than *right*, if as a slap in the face to those who imprisoned me, fined me, drove me into exile, and those who have advised the King *not to refund* the fine: as such it would be no more than *right* to publish these ADDRESSES and ANSWERS. But, they convey information as to the *state of Ireland*, and as to the *opinions and feelings* of the people of Ireland; and let the arrogant men in England think and say what they may, these opinions and feelings must *now* be attended to.

After the addresses and answers comes a letter from Mr. O'CONNELL, on the subject of TITHES; a letter worthy of the best attention of all my readers. Our "pretty gentlemen of Whitehall" are in a sweet mess, which mess they must needs thicken by *Brougham's and Bloomfield's Poor-Law Bill*! There let them be; they have put themselves in it; let them get out as they can, with the assistance of JOHN Wood, pis-aller Parks, roaring Rushton, LORD Denman, Sturges Bourne, Mother Martineau and the rest of their sage advisers. A friend presses me to write over, to order the GRIDIRON to be gilded before the *last half-sovereign is gone*! Oh God! how just art thou! Who can see the vengeance preparing for the heads of base oppressors, and be an Atheist!

ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS
OF KILKENNY.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

SIR,—With feelings of the deepest joy, we heard of your arrival on the shores of Ireland; and those feelings have been increased beyond adequate expression by your visit to our ancient

city, to which, sir, in language too weak for the sentiment it would convey, we bid you the sincerest welcome.

When we see a man whose labours through a long life of industry have been devoted to the happiness of his fellow-beings, whose exertions in his own country have found their reward in the increased intelligence, and consequent comfort and well-being of his countrymen; and in that gratitude which nations owe to individuals who have conferred countless benefits on them; when we see one who has subjected himself to the hatred and persecution of the PEOPLE'S foes, because he had acquired the PEOPLE'S love; one whom Providence gifted with talents that have not been abused; with talents that have enabled him, in spite of the oppression of tyranny, and the opposition of bigotry, to raise himself to an eminence that renders him envied by the base, admired by the just, and loved by the grateful; when we see, sir, such a man amongst us for the purpose of acquiring that information which may guide and assist him in his future efforts for the benefit of our country, we are filled with bright anticipations of happiness with expectations of coming good which we hope soon to see realized.

You are not entirely unaware of the present state of Ireland; with the wrongs under which she suffers, the grievances she endures, and the burdens which oppress her, you are already acquainted; but the details of our misery are not familiar to you; our actual sufferings you have not witnessed; and, till you witness, you cannot know them. You cannot conceive how great, how agonizing to the heart of a philanthropist, how dreadful and almost unendurable they are. We need not tell you, sir, of the many evils which rack-rents, tithes, and absenteeism, have brought on this country. To the state of our own city alone we shall for the present direct your attention.

The act of Union has proved the ruin of Kilkenny, not in that figurative sense, in which the supporters of the Union would pretend that we speak, when

describing the effects of that fatal measure, but in a meaning strictly (alas ! too strictly) literal. If you walk through our streets and view our manufactories, you will see in the former, groups of tradesmen standing idly, and showing by their hollow cheeks, their despairing looks, and wasted, broken-spirited appearance, that poverty has followed want of employment, and that wretchedness is the only portion they can bestow on their starving offspring. In our factories you will see looms that are not used because our manufacturers are unable to keep them going ; wheels that are seldom turned except to preserve them from rotting through disuse ; and window-sashes in which there is no glass, for a necessity does not exist to keep the wind and the rain from places that are unoccupied. Things were not thus before the effects of the union had time to take place. *Then*, our tradesmen were employed, our factories never empty, and our fellow-citizens prosperous and comfortable, if not happy. And yet, sir, Mr. Spring Rice made a statement of our prosperity, a statement which was totally untrue, and the motive for making which his country will not forget. With the fact in contradiction to his falsehood, and that fact easy to be maintained, a man who had expressed a desire to have the very name of his country blotted from history was believed, when he asserted that our trade was in an improving condition ! ! Thus, sir, has Ireland ever been the victim of misrepresentation, and it was only when men who like yourself were possessed of an enlightened understanding, liberal feelings, and a desire to know, and to publish the truth, came over from England, and saw our real state, and perceived that our complaints were not groundless ; that Englishmen who only require to know the truth that they may be guided by it, began to feel that Ireland was labouring under wrongs which justice called on them to redress.

From your visit to our country we expect with confidence that both England and Ireland will derive the utmost advantage. The information which

your lectures will spread among all classes in this country will, we hope, have the effect of rendering us unanimous in favour of at least one question, a provision for the poor of Ireland. We trust that you will return to your place in the Senate armed with such an abundance of facts and other information, as may decide the legislature on at once passing some law by which the poor population of this country will be relieved from all future danger of the ills attending hunger and poverty ; and by which the cold-hearted beings who at present, at home and abroad, are living in luxury, regardless of the misery in every shape which their poorer fellow-countrymen are enduring, may be forced to contribute a portion of that wealth which God did not give them for their own use exclusively to the support of those who are reduced to depend on others for subsistence. If, sir, you and your countrymen will assist in passing such a measure, you will deserve, and you may rest assured will obtain our gratitude.

After the fatigue of your travelling hither to-day, we shall not detain you by a further expression of the pleasure your presence gives us ; but you must allow us to breathe a wish for your personal welfare, and a hope that you may live in unbroken health and spirits to see the day when your exertions, and those of the other great men who are labouring with you in the cause of freedom, may be crowned with triumphant success.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,—In answer to your kind and generous commendations on me I have, first, to offer you my most profound and sincere thanks ; and then, on your Address, so pregnant with important matter, to observe

1. That if by *increased intelligence* of my countrymen you mean the increase in their quantity of *reading and writing*, the facts are these : That

during the last thirty years of that prodigious increase the quantity of *crime* in England has increased tenfold! And that, as to *comfort*, the decrease has been in an exact proportion to the increase of that which is *most falsely* called "EDUCATION," which is not education, but a scheme for making the people quiet under all the sufferings of hunger and cold.

2. That with regard to your loss of manufactures and trade, it is in the nature of our fiscal and paper-money system to create monopolies and to draw all property into great masses; and, as *Caligula* wished that the people of Rome had *but one neck*, that he might decapitate them all at a single blow, so our Government, from ignorance rather than from evil design, seems to aim, in all its measures, at getting all wealth into great heaps, and as near to itself as possible, that that wealth may be, with the least possible trouble, available for its fiscal purposes; while landowners, acting upon the same principle, have been moulding twenty farms into one, driving the small holders into the ranks of wretchedness, rendering that estate a wilderness which before contained a happy community, and by the misery which they have thus created challenging an inquiry into their own rights of possession.

3. That with regard to a legal provision for the destitute, to deny the justice and necessity of such provision is to set at nought the dictates of reason, the laws of England, and the laws of God. As a matter of policy, *here*, gentlemen, is the only effectual remedy for non-residence, for monopoly of land, and for the evils arising from drawing manufactures into great masses. The landowners, compelled to feed and clothe, or to employ, the millions whom they ruin by their grasping and short-sighted policy, will *then*, for their own interest, put an end to the evils that they have created.

Gentlemen, I am sure that your wishes for my happiness come from *your* hearts, and I assure you, that few things would contribute more to that happiness than my being able to assist in restoring per-

fect freedom and happiness to Ireland, and in rendering its peace and harmony perpetual.

WM. COBBETT.

City of Kilkenny, 30. Sept., 1834.

COPY OF AN ADDRESS

OF THE MANUFACTURING AND OPERATIVE WEAVERS OF KILKENNY, PRESENTED TO MR. COBBETT, M.P., SEPT. 30, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—We, the manufacturing and operative weavers of Kilkenny, beg leave to approach you with feelings of mingled exultation and regret: of exultation at the arrival amongst us of one of the most useful, indefatigable, and enlightened public characters, and one of the most generous and sympathising friends to our afflicted country; of regret, that the depressed and almost ruined state of our trade renders us wholly unable to offer to so distinguished a man that reception which his long and useful services to Ireland so eminently merit. But, sir, the consciousness of doing good is its own reward, and there is no man more entitled than you are to the felicity arising from such a conviction. Permit us, sir, to offer to an *Englishman*, conspicuous alike for impartiality and love of justice, a brief but genuine statement of facts relative to our trade, which has been represented as in a flourishing and prosperous condition, by the Right Hon. SPRING RICE, with that unblushing effrontery and indecent disregard to truth which characterized the greater portion of that gentleman's speech in the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament.

The facts, sir, are these: 1. That the manufacturers of the city of Kilkenny, before the passing of the act of Union, were able to employ 3,000 operatives with families in comparative ease and comfort, until the system of absenteeism and the withdrawal of capital, consequent on that baneful and ruinous measure.

2. That the taking off of the protecting duties in 1821, the leaving of a poor and impoverished country destitute of the fostering aid of a parental legislature, are the prime and sole causes of the misery and destitution of our native manufacturers, and not any combination of tradesmen, as the member for Cambridge has falsely asserted.

3. That out of the 3,000 individuals alluded to, but 350 are now employed whose average weekly wages have suffered a diminution of three fourths, the average weekly wages amounting to but eight shillings, whereas, originally the same average amount was thirty-two shillings and upwards; that even this employment is wholly partial, inasmuch as that 3,000 stone of wool was originally the weekly manufacturing consumption; whereas 400 stone is now the extreme weekly average amount.

4. That heretofore, and before the passing of the act of *Union*, the spinning mills and factories of LACKEN, BLACK-MILL, BLEACH-GREEN, and MOUNT-EAGLE, were in full and active employment; that since the passing of that destructive measure, employment in these establishments has totally failed.

5. That a CARPET MANUFACTURE has been attempted in Kilkenny about four years since, and that also wholly failed.

6. That more than one-half of the operative weavers are at this moment in a state of destitution; and out of forty manufactories, but five at present exist, and these exhibiting but the mere semblance of employment; and out of forty master manufacturers, but eight at present exist, three of whom have been long since obliged to throw themselves on the eleemosynary bounty of their fellow-citizens, and are at this moment the wretched inmates of a poor-house.

Such, sir, are the *facts* relative to the *woollen*, once the *staple* trade of Kilkenny. Your stay amongst us, sir, though short, will enable one of your vast and capacious mind to weigh the authenticity of these statements against the unfounded assertions of the Right Hon. the member for Cambridge.

That Providence, sir, may long con-

tinue to you *a life* so valuable in the diffusion of general enlightenment and so advantageous to Ireland, is the heartfelt wish and prayer of the

Manufacturing, &c. of Kilkenny.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,—With great pride and gratitude I receive this address from you, whose occupation and whose good sense and public spirit call my mind back to the same occupation, and the same qualities in my excellent constituents of Oldham. In answer to the address, be pleased to receive from me the following observations, accompanied with my sincere thanks:

1. That with regard to the strange assertions ascribed to Mr. Spring Rice, as my constituents have placed me in a situation to say TO HIS FACE any thing which I shall deem it my duty to say in disapprobation of his conduct, I abstain, in this case, from saying, more of that conduct, than that I lament that his statements should have been so very contrary to the facts, and that I would fain hope, that those statements must have arisen from misinformation or from error in judgment, rather than from a deliberate and premeditated design to deceive and mislead the House of Commons and the people of England.

2. That with regard to the Union and its effects on the condition of the people of Ireland, while it is impossible to recollect *the means* by which it was effected, and to believe that the end *can ever be good*; while it is notorious that the lot of the Irish people has been growing worse and worse from the day of the Union to this day, while common sense tells us that the Union must of necessity produce absenteeism, and draw away a considerable part of the means of employment of industry in all its various branches; and, in short, while it is too much for insanity itself to adopt the belief, that eight millions and a half of people can, for any length of time, continue in a state of *colonial relationship* to twelve millions, about two or three millions of whom they supply

with food; while all this presents itself to the mind of every really sane person in the whole kingdom, still there is another cause, beside the Union, which cause we must not leave out of our consideration, if we would arrive at a correct conclusion, and suggest an effectual and peaceable remedy.

3. That this cause is the *drawing of all property*, and especially manufacturing property, *into great heaps*; that the Statute Book tells us, that, five hundred years ago, there was a Cloth Hall, regulated by law, in each of 32 out of the 40 counties of England; that within the period of my life, every labourer's house in the eastern, southern, and western counties of England, contained a manufacturer; that *now*, the *then* dispersed and happy millions are huddled together in dense masses, and condemned to toil for swollen-up masters who rival lords in wealth, and who surpass them in arrogance and haughtiness and cruelty. In the first happy period the existence of a soldier in time of peace had never been heard of; in the second place the army amounted to an average of less than ten thousand men, and there were only three barracks in England; now there are in time of peace more than a hundred thousand standing soldiers, and more than a hundred barracks; while the miserable operatives, whom these are intended to keep in order, have frequently for their Sunday clothes the cast-off habiliments of these very soldiers, and who have not each a third part of the food of one of these soldiers.

4. That the *accursed instrument*, by which this desolating and enslaving change has been effected, is that paper-money, which made its first appearance a hundred and forty years ago, which has, by slow degrees, brought us into our present state without any set of our rulers ever seeming to have perceived the danger, which has gone on making the rich man more rich, and the poor more poor; which has, at last, divided society into two classes, distinct in interest, and hostile in feeling; in which state of society, justice, reason, and human nature herself say there must be a change;

and that that change may be peaceable and equitable, is the ardent prayer of

Your grateful
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CITY OF WATERFORD.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens, held by public requisition, in the Arena, in the city of Waterford, on Tuesday, the 30. of September, 1834; Alderman Henry Alcock in the chair;

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Moved by Alexander Sherlock, Esq., seconded by Daniel Dunford, Esq.,

That William Cobbett, Esq., M.P. for Oldham, by his long and zealous advocacy of civil and religious liberty; by his strenuous exertions in the cause of radical reform; by his uncompromising support of the rights of the people generally, and especially of the defenceless and oppressed; but in a more particular manner by his generous, efficient, and important lectures, to dispel those bigoted prejudices against the faith and principles of Catholics, which crafty tyranny had cultivated in the minds of the English people; by his unyielding opposition to the atrocious Coercion Bill; by his frequent and impressive claims for substantial justice to Ireland; and by his emphatic support of the repeal of the Union; is entitled on his visiting our city, for the first time, to a marked expression of the respect, the confidence, and gratitude, of the people of Ireland.

Moved by Daniel Dunford, Esq., seconded by the Reverend Thomas Clarke,

That an address expressive of our feelings to Mr. Cobbett, be presented to him on his arrival in our city.

An address having been then read by the chairman, it was

Moved by Patrick Sheehane, Esq., M.D., seconded by Owen Carroll, Esq.,

That the address now read be adopted as the address to be presented on this occasion.

Moved by James Morris, Esq., seconded by Michael Burke, Esq.,

That the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect.

The Chairman and Secretary,

Alexander Sheerlock, Esq.

Daniel Dunford, Esq.

James Morris, Esq.

Patrick Sheehane, Esq., M.D.

Rev. Thomas Clarke.

Arthur Doyle, Esq.

John O'Neill, Esq.

HENRY ALCOCK, Chairman.

THOMAS MURPHY, Secretary.

ARRIVAL OF MR. COBBETT.

Mr. COBBETT arrived here yesterday about eleven o'clock, direct from Kilkenny. He drove immediately to Mr. Doyle's, in Michael-street, where he intends remaining during his stay. A personal description of him has been so often given that it would be unnecessary to go over the detail again. His first lecture commences this day at the Arena, and is expected to be numerously attended. Subjoined we give the address presented to him by the citizens.

A most respectable body of the citizens, headed by their chairman, Mr. Alcock, waited on Mr. Cobbett after his arrival. Mr. Alcock, on behalf of the deputation, expressed himself as follows:

Sir,—We were deputed at a meeting of our fellow-citizens, convened by public requisition, and held a few days since, to present to you, on their behalf, an address, and as that address contains fully the sentiments of this committee, I shall without further preface request of our worthy secretary to read it for you.

The secretary then read the address, and having handed it to Mr. Alcock, that gentleman delivered it to Mr. Cobbett, saying, that, he felt much pleasure in handing him this address on behalf of

the citizens of Waterford, and he begged leave to assure Mr. Cobbett, that in no part of his Majesty's dominion were there to be found a more patriotic, independent, and loyal body of men than in the *Urbs lat acta*.

THE ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF WATERFORD, CONVENED BY PUBLIC REQUISITION.

TO MR. COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

Sir,—The people of Waterford hasten to join the ranks of those of their countrymen among whom you have already appeared; and to do credit to themselves in their honour to you, by showing that they know how to give you a welcome to Ireland suitable to the extent of their own obligations to you; suitable to the number and importance of the services which you have rendered to the cause and to the principles of freedom, whenever they have to maintain a struggle with oppression; suitable to the honour due to that high-souled sense of justice which, guiding all your conduct, has placed you, by the common consent of your countrymen, the first among the most patriotic defenders of English liberty, and at the same time challenge from us the acknowledgment, that of Englishmen you are the most generous assertor of Irish rights.

While we present to you, sir, our affectionate welcome to the shores of Ireland, the feelings that are uppermost in our bosoms must necessarily be associated with the recollections of the benefits you have rendered us, to the majority of us as Catholics, to all of us as Irishmen. It is impossible to look back to the dark ages of unmitigated bondage through which we have passed, to the code of blood by which we have been persecuted, to the rods of scorpions with which we have been scourged in the land of our fathers, to the black artifices by which bigotry stealed the conscience of oppression, and taught it to deem injustice a virtue, without recollecting that in you, sir, we welcome him who, in defence of the prejudices of his countrymen, instilled from childhood, and transmitted from generation

to generation, dared to vindicate from calumny that insulted religion which is emphatically the religion of our country, and in spite of these prejudices, taught England to think justly of Ireland, in order that she might learn to act justly towards her.

But, sir, if the important services which you have rendered to the Catholics of Ireland, and through them to all Irishmen, who prefer public liberty to sectarian prejudice; if these excite our deepest gratitude, we must not allow any feelings belonging exclusively to ourselves, as Irishmen, to make us throw into the shade the claims which your public life has given you to the general respect of your fellow men. There are not wanting instances of men who, born to the possession of ample power, have exercised it with a wise and generous care for the well being of their fellow creatures. There are not wanting examples in any state of men, of high endowments, who, by pandering to power, or by courting party, have raised themselves from the humblest state, to the first distinction and to the highest honours; but in you, sir, we behold the rare example of a man who, in a country torn by contending factions, by factions armed with every means of seduction or suppression; has stood aloof from each, and has triumphed over both; who, unaided, unfriended, unguided, has risen from untutored boyhood, and from the humble plough, to the distinguished rank which you now fill, among the representatives of England, and the statesmen of Europe; and has risen without one act of mean submission to unjust power, or harder still, of mean compliance with popular delusion.

In you, then, sir, it is not the benefactor only that we greet with the acknowledgments of gratitude, but in you we hail also, with all the respect which it challenges from brave and honest hearts, the bright example of an integrity not to be seduced, of a resolution not to be intimidated, of a perseverance not to be wearied, of an enthusiasm not to be subdued by difficulties, by disappointments, by fine itself; and of a triumph, soon, we trust, to be consum-

mated, the triumph of integrity and truth over power, unlimited, unscrupulous, and unsparing.

ANSWER.

TO THE CITIZENS OF WATERFORD.

Gentlemen,—Without stopping to lament that any language that I have at my command must be placed in the shade, when used in answer to an address such as that which you have done me the honour to present to me, I will at once proceed to observe,

1. That there are a great many Englishmen whose feelings for the sufferings of Ireland are by no means inferior to my own, but who have not the same means as those which I have long had, of giving any considerable effect to those feelings. In their silence regarding your wrongs, or want of zeal in your defence, might be excusable, while either would be most base and criminal in me.

2. That with regard to your *religion*, it was for a thousand years the religion of my own forefathers as well as of yours. It was to the wisdom, the integrity, the valour, the industry of Roman Catholics, that England owed all her famed institutions, all her glory, all her solid power, all her noble edifices, all the riches and beauty of her fields and her woods. I knowing this, and being myself emancipated from the ignorance with which greedy craft had shackled my mind, seeing my countrymen still under the influence of that ignorance, seeing that ignorance made use of for the purpose of oppressing you, and having at my command a pen and a press; if I had neglected to use the, to me, easy means of removing that ignorance, I should have been the very basest, the most unjust, and cruel of all mankind.

3. That my present situation in society, considering not the mere station, but taking into view the rare political integrity, the not less rare discernment, the distinguished public spirit of those who placed me in it, is certainly most honourable; and it is also certain that I have not obtained it by means such as those employed by the Roses, the Jen-

kinsons, the Huskissons, the Cannings, the Addingtons, the Vansittarts, the Wilberforces, the Broughams, and many other men of origin so very obscure as almost to tempt us, in spite of their printed pedigrees, to adopt a belief in the theory of equivocal generation. But, gentlemen, let us be just: the disinterested exertion of the man whose body is satisfied with dining on a crust and skim milk, and sleeping on a plank, are not to be raised to a level with those of a man whose carcass craves a bed of down, and is, even there, agitated by dreams of venison and claret, the proofs of public spirit shown by the man, the greatest delight to whose vulgar eyes is the sight of a well-tilled field, whose sweetest music is the ploughman's whistle and the jingle of the traces, and the utmost of whose ambition is the possession of a well-fed and gayly harnessed team, are by no means to be put upon a level with those of the man to whom museums and galleries and harmonious bands (at the people's expense) are necessities of life; who must have a ribbon at least, though associated with chains, and who reckons his soul well sold if it bring him a coronet. With an abatement made on this principle, gentlemen, I receive your encomiums as justly my due, and as such worthy of you and of me.

4. That, great as is the value which I set, for my own sake, on this generous conduct on your part, I value it a thousand times more on account of the great good effect which I know it will have on the minds of my countrymen, who, for the far greater and more efficient part, will consider every mark of friendship shown to me as shown to themselves. It has for many years, and for purposes too well known to need stating to you, been the constant endeavour of the most unjust, most cruel, most greedy, most perfidious of all mankind, to make the people of the two countries view each other with jealousy and suspicion, and to fill their hearts with mutual hostility. It has been, for a like number of years, my constant endeavour to counteract this truly hellish series of efforts; and, gentlemen, I am now, at last, cheered

with the hope, that, by our joint exertions, our endeavours will be crowned with success.

WM. COBBETT.

TITHES! TITHES! TITHES!

TO WM. SHARMAN CRAWFORD, ESQ.

Derrinane Abbey, 27. Sept., 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—I address this letter to you because I know no man more sincerely desirous of establishing that universal tranquillity in Ireland without which her resources can never be developed, or the people rendered contented or prosperous. You and I are perfectly agreed that tranquillity is essential to the well-being of Ireland. But tranquillity itself must be an effect flowing from other causes, before it can become in its turn an efficient cause of prosperity.

There are two modes of producing tranquillity; causing, however, quite different consequences, because whilst the tranquillity produced by the one mode is full of every cheering hope—that produced by the other is only the consummation of mischief and misery.

I deal with the latter first. The mode of producing this species of quietude is by force, by violence, by, in short, COERCION; for that is the favourite term of modern tyrants. The kind of tranquillity *thus* produced is indeed,

“A death-like silence and a dread repose.”

The authors of it are properly described by the British chieftain, “*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.*” This tranquillity is produced by suppressing complaints, by strengthening the oppressor's arm, by binding hand and foot the wretched victim of bad laws, and of worse ministers of those laws, by giving more power to the wrong doer, and by overwhelming the sufferers from such wrong, by making iniquity triumphant, and leaving the objects thereof altogether defenceless. This is the tranquillity produced by insurrection acts, by coercion bills, by military license, by police slaughterings. It causes, to

be sure, "a death-like silence," but it is only for a time. It creates a repose, but that repose is "dread" and awful, and, above all things, it is transitory. No man can rely on its continuance; no person confides in its duration. It resembles the slumbering of a volcano; tranquil for a time, only to burst forth with accumulated horrors and increased ruin.

I write not of imaginary things. I do not draw upon my fancy for unreal sketchings. I tell by abstract propositions the story of Ireland. I draw no inferences. I simply write history, the history of Ireland.

For seven hundred years these have been the means resorted to by our English rulers to tranquillize Ireland. These are, alas! the only means which they have to this hour, aye, even up to this hour, employed to produce the fate of this ill-fated land. They are, I do really believe, as ready to repeat the atrocious experiment, as if seven hundred years of similar misrule had not proved that although the exhibition of discontent may be suppressed for a season, yet that it, after a short pause, shows out again in renovated and increased rage, vigour, and wildness of revenge.

Such is the first mode of producing tranquillity. Such is the only mode hitherto resorted to; and, above all, observe, I pray you, such is the species of tranquillity produced by that mode.

There is another mode of rendering Ireland tranquil, a mode hitherto untried; but which assuredly ought to be tried, if it were for nothing else but the sake of novelty.

The second, and hitherto untried mode of tranquillizing Ireland is by redressing all wrongs, by suppressing all oppressions, by abolishing all grievances, by correcting all abuses, by discountenancing all oppressors, by encouraging industry, by fostering agriculture and commerce, by having religion perfectly free. In one word, by **DOING JUSTICE** to all the people.

This is the mode, my excellent friend, which you and I would adopt with a certainty of success. It is thus that we would produce that desirable tranquillity

which, far from being the silence of hopeless slaves, would be the moral atmosphere of contented freemen. A tranquillity which would give leisure and opportunity, and furnish stimulants to the attainment of the highest degree of national and individual comfort and prosperity.

Such is the tranquillity we desire, such is the amelioration of the social state which is the darling object of our honest ambition. A tranquillity which, in the deepest recesses of my conscience, I am convinced can be produced only under the tutelar care and protection of a domestic and parental legislature.

But, in the meantime, let us give the enemies of repeal no excuse. Let us point out to them *the wrongs* that require to be redressed, *the grievances* which require to be abolished.

The most obvious and pressing of these is the *tithe system*.

Until the **TITHE SYSTEM** IS ABOLISHED, totally abolished, not in name only, but in essence and in practical reality, Ireland cannot experience tranquillity.

There is no tranquillity for Ireland until the tithe system is annihilated root and branch. There can be no more compromise with it, "*Delenda est Carthago*" should be our motto. The tithe system must be abolished by law and for ever.

If ever nation was unanimous upon any topic, it is the Irish nation upon the subject of tithes. The Catholics universally, the Presbyterians very generally, the Protestants very numerously; all agree that tithes should be abolished. Never did a people yet approach so near to perfect and undivided unanimity. All are for the extinction of the giant abuse of tithes, save those who are connected in one way or another with it by drivelling bigotry or by the filthy lucre of gain.

It should be recollected that this national abhorrence of tithes is not casual or of recent origin, neither is it transitory. It has been the most prominent feature of Irish history for the last seventy years, for, indeed, more than seventy years. The landed proprietors threw it off their demesne lands and

pasturages more than a century ago, and the example thus set by the highest class has been carefully imitated in their own way by the poorer orders in the country. There has been from time to time, a lull or cessation produced by the accumulating enactments of penal laws, laws dripping, as it were, with human blood. Chains, and whipping, and emaciating imprisonments, and banishments, and unnumbered executions, have all been tried, and tried with temporary but evanescent success, the opposition to tithes reviving again with fresh strength, and new horrors, after each fear-stricken pause; until, at length, the cry for the total, unconditional abolition of tithes has become more universal, more unanimous, more determined, and more terrific, than it has ever been before. In fine, if one can read the signs of the times with any accuracy, there is a more fixed, and I may call it, a more virulent determination on the part of the Irish people not to pay tithes than ever there was.

It follows of inevitable necessity that Ireland cannot possibly enjoy permanent or secure tranquillity until the tithe system disappears from the sight for ever.

Any statesman with a philosophic mind would see this inevitable conclusion at once. For more than a century have the people of Ireland struggled against tithes. A rational statesman would at once terminate the struggle in the only way which, sooner or later, it must end, by the abolition of that blood-stained impost.

To commence laying a foundation for the tranquillity of Ireland these four things are necessary:

First—The total annihilation of the tithe system.

Second—The abolition of the sinecure part of the establishment, and the perfect freeing of Catholics, Presbyterians, and other Dissenters of Ireland, from any forced contribution to the clergy of the Protestant established religion.

Third—That the compensation to be made to lay impropriators upon the an-

nihilation of tithes should be *just* and *moderate*.

Fourth—That the claims for vested interests in the present Protestant incumbents should not be allowed farther than may be found consistent with *sound sense* and *reason*.

We will discuss these four topics *seriatim*; and, *first*, of the annihilation of tithes:

I have said enough to show, and indeed it is superfluous to prove, because every body knows the fact, that the people of Ireland will not pay tithes, nor any composition or other compensation as a substitute for tithes.

They have two decisive objections to the payment of tithes, or of any compensation in their stead. The *first* is, that they know that the impost itself in Ireland was originally created without any necessity, by English adventurers, who were the enemies of the Irish nation, that they were transferred at the so-called reformation by a still more flagrant act of injustice, and that in their nature they constitute a burden which ought never to have been placed, or at least continued, on a country purely agricultural. The *second* objection is, that they are a badge of servitude, a branded mark of slavery, the worst of all tokens of the servile state, a token of subjugation to malignant and still unrelenting enemies, to persons who, as was most indiscreetly but must truly proclaimed by the Beresfords and the Hamiltons at a recent Orange meeting in Dublin, always were, and still are, ready to exterminate the people of Ireland by the bayonet and the gibbet, that as long as tithes exist emancipation is but a mockery to the Irish people, and that there can be no freedom of conscience as long as any one class of persons are compelled to pay for the spiritual guide or pastors of other persons from whose doctrines they conscientiously dissent.

The honest and reflecting part of the present Ministry must therefore perceive that tithes must be abolished, *totally, unequivocally abolished*, abolished without delay or condition.

It may indeed be objected to me that

I myself supported and enforced a different plan, that I demanded and obtained the suppression of only two-fifths of the tithes, and that, therefore, I acquiesced in the continued and perpetual existence of the remaining three-fifths.

The facts are not accurately stated, the inference is altogether without foundation.

It is quite true that I demanded for the present but a partial reduction, it was three-fifths of the tithes. Why did I ask for no more? Why did I not demand the abolition of the entire? *Because* I had no chance in the first instance of getting the entire abolished, and you perceive that I was refused the extent which I asked, being three-fifths, and only got two-fifths, I had, therefore, not the least prospect or possibility of destroying the entire; and *because* I am one of those who is and have been always ready to accept of any instalment, however small, of the debt of justice due to the people, the real national debt. I have been, and am ready to accept of any instalment of that debt, determined to go on and look for the remainder as soon as the first instalment should be completely realized.

It is totally untrue that I acquiesced in the perpetual continuance of the remaining three-fifths of the tithes. The arrangement which would have been complete if the foolish parsons and their silly friends had not conspired to throw out the tithe bill of last session, would have been just *this*, and no more:

First—The income of every beneficed clergyman in Ireland arising from tithe composition was to be reduced one-fifth, or twenty per cent. The composition itself, if complained of by the tithe-payers as unjust or unfair, to be corrected, and the proper amount ascertained. From the amount thus ascertained, or not complained of, there were, as I have said, twenty per cent. to be deducted.

Second—Out of the eighty per cent. which remained, two and a half, in other words 2l. 10s., were also to be

deducted to cover all the expenses of the Government in collection and payment. Thus each parson was to have 77l. 10s. in lieu of every 100l., to which he would otherwise have a legal claim.

Third—But remark, that instead of having a mere legal claim for 100l. to be collected and fought out as well as the parson could, and at such times as he might be able to get at it, he was to receive, on every 1. of November, at the Bank of Ireland, an Exchequer bill for 77l. 10s. payable with three halfpence *per diem* interest, as long as he might choose to hoard it; but payable not only at the Bank of Dublin, but receivable at every custom-house and excise-office in Great Britain and Ireland. No matter where the parson might go, he had his Exchequer bill bearing interest daily as long as he might choose to keep it by him, and no matter what part of the United Kingdom he might be in, his Exchequer bill was easily convertible into cash for its principal and interest. Nay, it most probably would be at a premium.

Fourth—There never yet was an income so comfortably paid as would have been the income of the parson under what was called my tithe bill. The parson could have had no quarrel with his flock, or with any body in his parish, about money. He was not to be at the expense of drivers, or proctors, or agents, or of employing attornies. He was only to go to the Bank personally, or to send any friend there, and his income would be realized at once. What man is there whose estate is let at any thing like the value, who would not be delighted to get 77l. 10s. free of all expense and of all trouble, for every nominal 100l. of his income? But to a clergyman, who ought, above all things, desire to be at peace with the inhabitants of his parish, surely nothing could possibly be more truly desirable than this arrangement. The truth is, it will very speedily be admitted that the parson never had so good a friend as myself. They hate me pestiferously, and I had returned them this good for their evil.

Fifth—There was besides in my ar-

arrangement this additional concession, namely, it extended to all beneficed clergymen, no matter whether sinecurists or not. *Their vested rights* were, I beg of you to remark this, *their vested rights* were to have been acknowledged and preserved during the lives of the present incumbents. How bitterly those sinecurists will have to deplore the wicked fatuity of the *advisers* of the leading peers, and of those peers themselves, who broke up this arrangement by throwing out the bill. When the next arrangement comes to be made the people of England and of Ireland will probably not listen to the making of any compensation to ecclesiastical any more than to naval or military sinecurists.

Such was the arrangement as to the incumbents' 77l. 10s. they were to get out of every nominal 100l., and to be paid by the Treasury at the Bank of Ireland.

It was the Government which was to collect from the landlords the remaining three-fifths of the tithes. But this portion of that impost, besides being placed as far as possible on the landlords exclusively, was expressly to be subject to a *future appropriation* by Parliament.

The commission issued by the crown, and now in progress of execution, was issued for the very purpose of establishing the foundations on which that appropriation was to be based. Of course it must inevitably follow that upon the demise of the present incumbents there were to be no successors appointed, except in parishes where a substantial part of the inhabitants were episcopalian Protestants, that is, one should say, in the proportion of at least one-third. In parishes where more than two-thirds of the inhabitants did not belong to the Protestant episcopalian church, we should have had a right to expect that no successor to the present incumbent should be named. I will have occasion to allude to the at present more near enjoyment of this exemption in another part of this letter.

Such was the proposed arrangement of the last session. It would have been

conclusive only so far as related to the vested interest of the present incumbents of benefices. It was in its nature open as to the appropriation, and, of course, as to the ultimate alteration, commutation, or extinction of the remaining three-fifths of the tithe fund.

But that arrangement having been frustrated by the folly and wickedness of the Orange Conservatives in and out of the House of Lords, I am perfectly free from any of the trammels of that arrangement.

I am free to insist, and I do insist, on the immediate and total annihilation of the tithe-system by act of Parliament; and my present impression is, that I am not only free, but bound to insist that no compensation should be made to any incumbent who has not episcopalian Protestant parishioners, and then only in the ratio of the comparative number of such parishioners.

In proceeding to consider of the immediate and total abolition of tithes, it is necessary that you and the Irish public should distinctly understand the situation in which the persons are now placed, with respect to the collection and paying of tithes.

This is a most important point. The facility of levying tithes, if there be legal facilities in levying them, should be distinctly shown, that no man may through ignorance violate the law, or oppose any active or criminal resistance to legal claims, exercised in a legal way.

If, on the other hand, there be legal difficulties in the way of levying tithes, it is right to point out to the people what would be an infringement of the law on the part of the parsons, what it is the people are enabled by law to resist, and what acts would render a parson a trespasser and wrong doer, and subject him to legal punishment.

This, I repeat, is most important to be understood, and I will now enter into those details, which will, I trust, make the matter clear to every body, whether learned in the law or not.

Let it be kept in recollection that the case of the lay impropriator and of the parson is precisely the same, under the

present existing statutes, so far as relates to the levying and enforcing the payment of tithes. I will, therefore, in future, use the term tithe-owner, as that word will include as well the parson as the lay impropriator.

In the first place, all Ireland must now be considered to be under the Tithe Composition Act. The act of 2. and 3. William IV., c. 119, is quite decisive on that subject. It is commonly called Stanley's act, and an act more unjust in principle, oppressive in details, or absurd in its contradictory provisions, could not well have been brought in by that very presumptuous, and after all, very superficial personage. It, however, has this result, that it takes away from the tithe-owner all remedy, either by citation in the ecclesiastical court, or by filing a bill for an account of tithes withheld. Thus this act, so mischievous in other respects, has this advantage, that it takes away from the tithe-owner two of the former most vexatious modes of recovering the value of tithes, namely, citation in the ecclesiastical court, and bill in equity.

Secondly—Preparations are, it is said, making by the parsons to levy in the most vindictive way the composition for tithes which will fall due on the first of November next. Now, I have already shown that they cannot levy those tithes either in the ecclesiastical court or in the former course, in equity. So I have to call attention to this, that they cannot sue in any way, mode, or form, any person being a tenant from year to year, or tenant at will. All tenants from year to year, and all tenants at will, are absolutely discharged from the payment of the composition, or of any money in lieu of tithes to the tithe-owner. This is expressly provided for by the 12. section of Stanley's act. So that if any tithe-owner sues by civil bill, or by action in the superior courts, a tenant from year to year, or a tenant at will, he must be defeated with costs. This is a tolerable stumbling block in the way of the tithe-owners. To their friend Mr. Stanley they are indebted for this difficulty.

Thirdly—And this is most important;

no tithe-owner can distrain any lands in the hands of a tenant from year to year, or of a tenant at will. The words of the statute in section fifteen, as to such lands, are, "*it shall not be lawful to make any distress upon such lands, OR UPON ANY GOODS OR CHATTELS THEREON for the recovery and levy of tithe composition or arrears thereof.*"

This, in fact, is taking away altogether the power of levying tithe composition by distress and sale of goods and chattels. In the first place, no tithe-owner can distrain any goods or chattels belonging to, or whether they belong to or not, a tenant from year to year, if they be on the lands occupied by a tenant from year to year. They are all safe on his land. The tithe-owner, if he enters upon such land, is a trespasser. He may be resisted, but without a breach of the peace or riot; he may be so kept off the land. If the police or military accompany him they also become trespassers; and if they put any person to death, as well the tithe-owner as the police or military, are guilty of murder, and liable to be executed as murderers. Of course the present Government must well take care not to allow the police or military to accompany or aid any tithe-owner in distraining until it is first ascertained, beyond any doubt, that the land intended to be distrained is not, and shall not be, in the hands of a tenant from year to year at the time when the distress for tithe composition is to be made. Now, land may this day be in the occupation of a man seized in fee, and to-morrow in that of a tenant from year to year under him; it therefore can never be ascertained beforehand whether or not at the time any distress for tithe composition is to be made, the lands will be in the occupation of a tenant from year to year or not. It follows that the Government cannot, without incurring the great and tremendous risk of blood-guiltiness, allow the tithe-owner the aid of the police or military to make any such distress.

But this is still stronger, and the risk of illegality the more clear, because the land occupied by any tenant at will can-

not be lawfully distrained. Now, it seems pretty obvious that if there be any occupier of land under a freehold tenure or lease for years who is unwilling to have his stock distrained, he will put his son, or his brother, or some friend, in possession as tenant at will, and will continue him such tenant so long as he apprehends such distraining.

Thus, therefore, it is clear that, practically speaking, the tithe-owner, on the first of November next, will have totally lost, for any useful purpose, his power to distrain for tithe composition, being, indeed, absolutely and directly prohibited from distraining any goods or chattels on the land of any tenant from year to year or at will.

Neither can the Government possibly allow the police or military to aid in distraining, even though there should be an affidavit of an actual breach of the peace. In that case the police would, of course, be directed to arrest the person charged, so that it may be tried whether the person be really guilty of a breach of the peace in driving off tithe-owners claiming a right to distrain, because, if I be a tenant from year to year, or at will, and that after the first of November next a tithe-owner comes to distrain my lands, I am entitled to keep him off my land by strong hand; and if he persists in trespassing I am entitled to "wallop" him off my land, as I cannot otherwise get him off, beating him only so much as is necessary to turn him off, and to keep him off my lands. Thus, therefore, the Government this year cannot possibly do what the Government did last year; that is, give police and military when a breach of the peace was sworn to. It is not now enough to swear to a breach of the peace, either intended or even committed. The matter must be tried by a jury before it can be known whether the peace was really broken or not, which again depends on the right of the tithe-owner to distrain; a right which in many instances is expressly taken away, and may be disputed in many more, if not in all. The Government cannot, without themselves being in imminent danger of the guilt of hu-

man blood, decide a question of right by bayonets and bullets.

The tithe-owners, therefore, cannot in very many cases, indeed in most cases, distrain at all, and they cannot in any case be allowed the use of the police or military in distraining, lest, instead of the assertion of a right, it may be the perpetration of murder.

Fourthly—The right to distrain being thus practically taken away, there appears to remain to the tithe-owner a remedy by action at law, or by a bill in equity of a new description; in fact, an action in equity. I say that this remedy is more, much more apparent than real, indeed it can scarcely be said to be real at all.

I beg particular attention to this: tenants from year to year, and tenants at will, cannot be sued at all. Well, the land is occupied by either the one or the other. It cannot be distrained upon. Who is to be sued? Why, the 12th section says it is "*the person who shall have in the land the first estate or interest greater than the tenancy from year to year.*" There is cold comfort for the tithe-owner. How is he to discover the person having such first estate? He has none of the title-deeds; he is in no privity with the occupier. I ask, then, how is the unfortunate tithe-owner to know who he is to sue? He has no remedy against the owner in fee, nor against any person having an intermediate estate between the owner in fee and the actual occupier (and there may be five, ten, or twenty such persons), with the single exception of such of them as have the first estate greater than a yearly tenancy.

The first great and almost insurmountable difficulty is for the tithe-owner to discover who he is to sue. If he mistakes that person he will be defeated, and will have to pay costs. Suppose Paddy Blake is occupier as tenant from year to year, the tithe-owner cannot touch him, he cannot distrain any cattle on the land, he cannot sue Paddy Blake, Paddy laughs at the parson. Well, the parson hears that the estate belongs to Thomas Williams. Forthwith he sues Thomas Williams. The

expense of a trial is gone to, the case is opened for the tithe-owner, he makes his proofs, the defence is called for, it is simple and clear. Williams produces a lease for, say twenty-one years, made by him to John Thompson. The tithe-owner never heard of that lease before ; but it upsets his entire case ; he has a verdict against him, loses his tithes, and pays the costs of both parties.

But this is only one of twenty ways in which the tithe-owner will be defeated. I know an individual who is thus circumstanced : his property is occupied by tenants from year to year ; he has made a grant to a friend for three years of the property. This grant is dated in the present year, but is not registered ; neither does it require registry. The tithe-owner cannot recover off the land or from its occupier. If he sues the individual I speak of he will be defeated by the production and proof of this grant ; and [then there is an old outstanding mortgage on the estate which, at all events, protects the owner from suit.

Yet he prefers to stand upon his own grant, in order to expose the absurdity of Stanley's Tithe Act. It was Stanley's intention that no grantee of any interest by a deed subsequent to August, 1832, should have such an estate as to intervene between the owner of the land and the parson ; yet, by omitting in the ninth line the words "*created or arising after the commencement of this act,*" his intention is defeated. The judges cannot insert, nor are they warranted to imply these words. And thus the grant I have mentioned prevents the owner of the estate from coming within the meaning of the 12. section, and prevents the tithe-owner from being able successfully to see him.

But the blundering in the act does not cease here, because such a grant as I have mentioned, being in form a demise, and being executed subsequent to August, 1832, the grantee is, by the 13. clause, expressly exempted from the payment of tithe-composition !!!

Thus the case is, that the occupier of the land cannot be distrained upon or sued, the owner of the land cannot be

sued, the grantee of that owner cannot be sued, nobody can be sued. The tithe-owner is for the present without remedy ; he must wait until one year and a half's tithes are due before he can take any steps with any prospect of success, that is, one year and a half's composition, beginning in the year 1834, must be due in order to enable the tithe-owner to commence any suit.

And even then he will have to deal with all the incumbrances upon the estate. There, however, is a prospect that, supposing the law of tithes not to be altered, the tithe-owner may begin in the year 1836 to receive some part of what shall in the interval accrue due, provided there be then no general and unlawful combination to prevent his having the benefit of the law, such as it is.

These are some of the difficulties by which the tithe-owners are beset. I say emphatically *some*, for it would require a moderate volume to point out *all* the legal perils which the state of incumbrances affecting so extensively as they do Irish estates, must interpose between the tithe-owner and the enforcing or levying of tithe composition.

The tithe-owner will therefore, after the 1. of November next, find himself in this position :

1.—He cannot distrain any lands occupied by any tenant from year to year, or by any tenant at will !!! or by any tenant holding under any lease made subsequent to the 16. of August, 1832.

2.—He cannot sue at law or in equity any of *those* persons with success.

3.—He has no means to discover who it is against whom his suit may be brought with any prospect of success.

4.—He is liable, after going to all the expenses of a suit, to be defeated at the last moment by the production of a private or concealed deed or instrument.

5.—He is liable, in like manner, to be defeated by outstanding terms for years, mortgages, and incumbrances, of which, especially of terms for years for children's portions, he cannot possibly have any notice or intimation whatsoever. Yet they may " be the first in-

"terest in the lands greater than a
"tenancy from year to year."

6.—He has no remedy in the ecclesiastical court.

7.—The Government cannot allow him the police or military force to aid him anywhere in distraining, because the right is to distrain is so limited and confined, and so liable to be taken away by the means stated in the act of Parliament, that the Ministry would be highly criminal if they were to use force before the right was tried by due course of law.

Out of this sea of difficulties, in which Stanley's act of 1832 has plunged the tithe-owners, Mr. Littleton, by his bill, sought to relieve the parsons and lay impropiators. See how different their case would be if his bill had passed. That bill has also been called mine. I certainly did give it my support. But see how completely Mr. Littleton would have relieved them. He would have taken them out of all litigation, chicane, perplexity, and trouble of any kind. Instead of being involved in an ocean of doubts and perplexities, they would have only to call at, or to send to, the Bank of Ireland, and to receive for every nominal 100*l.* an order for 77*l.* 10*s.*, payable with interest in every part of the British dominion.

Yet it was such a change, so favourable to the parsons; so satisfactory to any men of meek or Christian spirit, that an archbishop, of the hideous name of Beresford, and the soft and smooth Recorder of Dublin, kicked out, and consigned the author of it to all manner of evil. In plain truth, no man was ever treated with such ingratitude as Mr. Littleton has been by the parsons and their vile satellites. I myself, too, have reason to complain that they are not quite as thankful to me as they ought to be.

Having thus shown the present state of the law of tithes, and the legal difficulties to enforce that impost, I return to my plan for the total annihilation of tithes.

It is simple; an enactment "that the
"payment of tithes and of all composi-
"tion rent, modus, or other satisfaction

"thereof, or substitution thereof, shall
"totally and for ever cease." Such is the act which I trust will pass in the next session of Parliament.

You have a right, my esteemed friend, to state, and I know you are ready to state, broadly and distinctly, the three objections which may be made to this act, and I will endeavour, in the first instance, to put forward candidly those objections, and afterwards to meet them, I trust, to meet them fully and satisfactorily.

The first objection is "that this would
"be a less destruction of public property
"which, though it were taken away
"from the parsons, ought to be pre-
"served for public purposes, and not
"bestowed in pure bounty to the exclu-
"sive use of the Irish landlords."

You will see that I state this objection in its fullest strength and latitude.

The second objection is, "that the
"lay impropiators have become pur-
"chasers of this species of property
"under the sanction of the same laws,
"and in the same modes by which
"landed estates have been acquired and
"are secured. They ought not, there-
"fore, to be despoiled of their inheri-
"tance therein."

The third objection is "that the be-
"neficed clergy of the Protestant esta-
"blishment have a vested interest for
"the lives of the present incumbents in
"these tithes, that some of them give
"value in spiritual instruction for the
"tithes, and that none of them ought to
"be despoiled during their respective
"lives of any part of their vested in-
"terests."

To the first objection I reply that I concur with you in admitting that tithes are public property, although this fact has been denied by interested bigotry, or at least has been qualified only by a kind of half admission; that if public property at all, they were, however, irrevocably attached to the Protestant episcopalian church, and could be employed only for purposes connected with the religion of the church. But this is an assertion which should be treated with the most profound, I would say, with ineffable contempt. Yet it is the lan-

guage of Stanley and Peel, of Inglis and Shaw, and of that class of statesmen who speculate on the excess of human folly as the means of obtaining the objects of their worthless ambition.

It is well to tell these people again and again the history of tithes, in order to confound their arrogant pretensions. The tithes then were dedicated to the public in *this* manner, and no other; that is, they were assigned to the parochial clergy of the people as trustees, in three portions, one-third to build and keep in repair churches for the people to worship God in; one-third for the relief and sustentation of the sick and indigent poor; and the remaining one-third for the support of a clergy to administer to the spiritual wants of the people. By tracing the original grants it will at once be found that the services which the clergy, upon whom these tithes were conferred, were required by the donors thereof to perform were these, to pray for the prosperity, temporal and eternal, of the donors, and for the deliverance of their souls from purgatory; to invoke the intercession of the blessed Virgin, and of the other saints of God, in favour of the living and of the dead; to celebrate mass on every Sunday and holiday, and on as many week days as possible; to administer seven sacraments, and to keep the people instructed in that mode of faith, which sanctioned and required all these ceremonies and sacraments; and above all, the sacrifice of the mass offered for the living and the dead.

Then came what was and is called the "reformation." Of course I am only speaking of that event historically, and not with any species of polemics. It took away from the sick and indigent their one-third of the tithes. Was not this, my friends, a palpable spoliation and robbery, the spoliation of the poor? It took away from the duty of building and repairing churches one other third; was not this something like spoliation? and it gave *ALL* to a clergy who invoked no saint, who prayed for no dead sinner, who repudiated purgatory, who struck off at one blow five out of the seven sacraments, and sadly mutilated one of

the remaining two, who abolished the sacrifice of the mass, and taught, and insisted, and proclaimed that the religion was *IDOLATRY* to whose service the tithes had been dedicated by the *OWNERS* of the soil.

There was no idolatry, however, in the tithes themselves! The Protestant clergy took the portion of the poor, the portion of the church, the portion of the Catholic instructor and priest.

You will perceive, respected sir, that I am not disputing with you upon the superiority of either of our modes of faith; I am only speaking of matters of history, and I submit to your sense of justice and of right whether a more unjust, a more iniquitous, a more totally indefensible transaction ever stained the pages of history, than the transfer of *ALL* the tithes, unconditionally and absolutely, to the Protestant clergy.

In England I know that this injustice was perpetrated by act of Parliament, and consequently, there is a legal title to the tithes in England. You will be surprised to hear that there is *no such statute in Ireland*. I took for granted that there was such a law in Ireland; but that was caused by my ignorance. I owe the discovery of the fact, that no such law ever was passed in Ireland to Dr. Lefroy, the Member for the University of Dublin. I thank him for it. He was insisting in the House of Commons, on this monstrous doctrine, that the title of the Irish Protestant church to the tithes was to be found at common law. He alleged that they did not claim by any statute, for that *there was none such*. His claim to a common law title could, as of course, be only a subject of derision; but his denying the existence of a statute confirming the tithes on the Protestant clergy of Ireland, caused me to search diligently the statute-book, and to my equal surprise and delight I found that he was right; that really there is no such statute, and that, therefore, mark this I pray you, the Protestant clergy of Ireland cannot show any one particle or pretence of legal title to the tithes, nothing more than possession; a possession usurped, without law, and

against the plainest principles of common justice and honesty.

Yet, sir, it is the advocates of a clergy so circumstanced who presume to cry out robbery, and spoliation, and sacrilege, when the legislature deals now with this property. The Catholics of Ireland, a country where the people never became Protestants, and therefore, never required, but, on the contrary, always repudiated the services of the Protestant clergy, appear still to retain the right in the eyes of reason, common sense and justice, to this property. But the clergy of that people disclaim all connexion with it, as if it contained in itself all the ingredients of contamination. They would not consent to my plan of applying part of a fund to be raised by the sale of the right to tithes in the purchase of glebes and manuses. They totally and for ever repudiate all contact with a fund which has been rendered odious in Ireland as the cause of ten thousand oppressions, ten thousand murders, and countless other crimes.

What then is to become of the tithes? They must be annihilated. But will that annihilation be to the sole and exclusive profit of the landlord?

Let us first consider how far the landlord will benefit from the abolition of tithes. To ascertain this, we must recollect that land alone is not the only ingredient to constitute tithes. There must, indeed, be the land as the raw material, but as no more than the raw material; there is next the capital of the tenant in purchasing manure, seed to sow, and implements of husbandry of every species; there is, lastly, the tenant's labour. Thus, if you annihilate tithes, you relieve the tenantry of Ireland from this consumption of their labour in vain, from this waste of their capital, but you clearly bestow one-third upon the landlord. Indeed I fear much more than one-third, because the competition for land in Ireland, the hard-heartedness of our absentees, and of so many out of the comparatively few resident proprietors, will stimulate and enable the landlords to take more than their due share of the benefits to arise from the annihilation of tithes.

Still some portion of that benefit will fall to the share of the tenantry. They will have but one claimant upon them, which is in itself an advantage, and they will not expend capital and labour without having some recompense or value given them for that labour and capital. Thus far the people will obtain relief.

Besides, the system of tithes is in its nature a tax on the produce of the soil, and of course is borne to a certain extent by the consumers of that produce, and the annihilation of tithes will relieve the people so far as they are—and they all must be consumers of such produce—whilst it also will increase the demand for, and profit of such produce, as is always the case where there occurs a diminution in the cost of producing any article for consumption.

But still the landlord will take away the lion's share of the advantage of abolishing the tithe system altogether. This evil will, *for the present*, be the more deplorable, as whatever increases the landlord's rents, will necessarily increase the absentee drain, there will be more of the income of the country exported, the exhaustion of the heart's blood of the country will be accelerated, and the fell absentees will be gorged with more of the fat of the land.

How do I propose to obviate this calamity? How do I propose to deal with the landlords so as to prevent their being the persons over-benefited by my measure? My plan is this:

First—One act of Parliament totally abolishing tithes, and composition rent, &c., and including in its provisions the extinction of minister's money in towns and cities.

Second—Another act of Parliament laying on as a quit rent sixpence in the pound upon all rents paid to, or in trust for, all person entitled to the fee and inheritance, and three-pence in the pound upon all intermediate rents payable to any intermediate landlord.

The landlords would thus be compelled to pay out of their rents a price for the advantages they will derive from the abolition of tithes. It is calculated that there are at least twelve millions of pounds annual rents payable to the

owners of the fee. This calculation I believe not to be exaggerated. This, at sixpence in the pound, would give an annual income of 300,000*l*.

It is calculated that there are eight millions annually of intermediate rents. This, at three-pence in the pound, would give an annual income of 100,000*l*. The total of both would give us an annual fund of four hundred thousand pounds. I will presently state how this fund should be disposed of. I, however, in the meantime return to your second objection, and will, I think, be able to dispose of it satisfactorily in a few sentences.

The second objection is, in substance, that "the property of lay impropriators in tithes ought not to be taken away without making them compensation."

This point I do not mean to discuss, because I think the objection ought to be yielded to. It will, however, leave a question behind as to the amount of compensation, and the mode of providing for it.

I am prepared upon both these heads.

First—As to the amount. There have been many recent cases of the acquisition of the right to lay tithes at very small prices. Some attorneys, in particular, delighting in the prospect of catching fish in troubled waters, have *speculated* in buying up this species of property. I believe I could point out an unfavourable instance of this kind in the neighbourhood of Belfast, as well as in Munster. Well, I would propose to enact that all persons who purchased such tithes within the twenty years before the 1. of January, 1834, or since that day, should receive for compensation for the extinction of their rights the sums they actually and *bona fide* paid as purchase money. This would not, on the whole, average any thing like twelve years' purchase.

Then, as to the rest, I would make the sum to be paid for their extinction to amount to twelve years' purchase of the sum fairly payable, as tithe-compensation. It may be said that twelve years' purchase is quite too low, but my reply is ready. There is a vast body of evidence upon this subject before Parlia-

ment, given with another view, but meeting the present exigency fortunately and precisely. It is in this way proved by the law and land agents, and public men best acquainted with the subject, that twelve years' purchase was in Ireland, in quiet times, the fair selling price in the market of lay tithes. Thus it follows that the rate of compensation I point out is the actual fair selling price of the article in a favourable market. No lay impropriator, therefore, can complain that we do him any injustice.

The parliamentary returns presented in July and August, in the present year, show that the lay tithes of Ireland amount at the utmost to something about one hundred thousand pounds per annum. This would, at twelve years' purchase, be covered by 1,200,000*l*.

Secondly—As to the mode of providing for the payment of these twelve hundred thousand pounds, there is no kind of difficulty. The rent-tax will give an income, as I have shown above, of 400,000*l*. a year. It will be easy to borrow the 1,200,000*l*. at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or say 4 per cent., to cover all expenses. The sum of one hundred thousand pounds per annum out of the rent-tax may be applied to pay off, first the interest, and afterwards to sink the principal of this loan. Thus, at the end of the first year, 48,000*l*. may be applied to defray interest, 52,000*l*. to pay off so much principal. The second year a less sum will be necessary for interest, leaving a larger part of the 100,000*l*. to discharge principal; and thus the lay impropriators will be fully paid off in the first instance, and the money raised to pay them off will be liquidated in a very few years.

It is, of course, part of my plan to compel the lay impropriators to accept the twelve years' purchase in full discharge of their rights. Provision usual in such cases will be made for securing the interests of any persons on whom the lay tithes may happen to be settled in remainder or expectancy.

You will, I trust, agree with me, that considering the great object to be attained in the tranquillization of Ireland by

the extinction of the tithe system, root and branch, it will not be unreasonable to make it compulsory on the lay impropiators to receive the sums I have thus suggested in full satisfaction of their right of property in tithes; a right derived by a still more flagrant act of tyranny and injustice, more barefaced in its enormity than any clerical transfer of tithes could possibly be.

The third objection alone remains, it is founded on the vested rights of the existing incumbents.

Having disposed of the lay tithes, this objection brings us to consider the rights of the clerical tithe receivers. That compensation should be made to some of them seems admitted by all. How far that compensation is to be extended is another and a serious question. It is one upon which I should much desire to know your deliberate opinion; and, indeed, I should wish to be guided rather by the judgment of others, in whom I could confide, than my own.

I have been long of opinion that all existing incumbents should be deemed to have vested interests in their clerical incomes, and be entitled, as such, to compensation during their respective lives. But recent events have staggered this opinion. The unchristian conduct of the parsons connected with the Orange faction has naturally inclined me to consider these claims in a more unfavourable point of view, and I have brought myself very nearly to the conviction that there ought to be a marked distinction between the working part of the Protestant clergy and those who have received a great deal of money without having done any duty at all.

I could name the Protestant rector of two united parishes, in each of which there is a large Catholic population, exceeding 3,000 souls. In the one there is not one single resident Protestant, nor Protestant at all save a few English sailors acting as coast guards. In the other there is but one Protestant family of six or seven individuals. This rector appears, by the returns to Parliament, not to have read divine service for at least the last three years. Ought this man to get compensation equally with

a laborious Protestant clergyman of Ulster, who has been in the habit of performing burdensome duties? I submit to your cool judgment and good sense, that while the latter ought to get compensation to the full amount of his present income, the claim of the other ought to be totally rejected.

One thing, after all, is quite clear, that no person will contend for it, that if tithes are extinguished there should be any successors to the present incumbents provided for parishes where there are no Protestants, or where the Protestants do not amount to one-third, or at the least, to one-fourth of the inhabitants. Upon this scale, that is taking it at one-fourth, I believe there would not be a successor necessary in any one parish of this extensive county, Kerry, although it contains upwards of two hundred and sixty-four thousand inhabitants.

For my part, you perceive, I contend for it that the sinecurists should be struck off at once, and not allowed any compensation. For this purpose, however, I would reduce the scale, and consent that no incumbent should be deemed a sinecurist in whose parish or benefice one-tenth of the inhabitants were episcopalian Protestants; but that there should be no successor to the present incumbent salaried by the state, unless the number of Protestants amounted to one fourth.

In either view we have ample fund for compensation to the beneficed clergymen for the total abolition of tithes. There are the 400,000*l.* rent-tax, 100,000*l.* of it being in the first instance applicable to the payment of the money raised to satisfy the lay impropiators, there would remain three hundred thousand pounds at present subject to be augmented as the "lay loan" should be discharged.

Taking it at 300,000*l.* at present, we will see what is the amount of clerical tithes to be extinguished; and it appears by the parliamentary returns that these tithes exceed 500,000*l.* per annum. It would, therefore, be necessary and right to turn the compensation to the clergy into a dead weight; to

issue Exchequer bills to meet the present surplus of the five hundred thousand pounds for tithes, and the three hundred thousand pounds now available out of the rent-tax funds. This deficiency would soon be made good by the deaths of incumbents.

For example: the Protestant incumbents are estimated at twelve hundred; now, taking into consideration the age a man must attain in order to get a living, it is reasonable to suppose that there would be an annual decrease of five per cent. or of sixty on the whole. It will thus appear that the rent-tax fund would soon redeem all needful advances, and be amply sufficient to meet all charges for clerical compensation.

But if the sinecurist clergy be struck out at once, the 300,000*l.* rent-tax would alone suffice, or nearly suffice, to provide at once for all proper, just, and reasonable compensation for the loss of all that ought to be deemed vested rights.

Thus I think I have shown:

First—That the tithes may be extinguished, and yet the landlords compelled to contribute to make good to the public a reasonable share of the property which the exoneration of these lands from tithe would confer on them.

Second—That the lay improPRIATORS would receive a just and reasonable compensation.

Third—That all the beneficed clergymen may, without difficulty, receive a similar compensation.

There is, therefore, no one solid or substantial objection to the immediate extinction of tithes, in name, in nature, and in reality. The people of Ireland demand that extinction with a voice of thunder. It is necessary to the peace, to the strength, and to the security of the British empire.

You may ask what my plan is with respect to the rent-tax fund, after it shall have discharged and fully satisfied all rights of compensation for the destruction of the tithe system. It will amount to at least 400,000*l.* per annum, and will augment with the growing prosperity of Ireland.

My plan is to apply that fund in the

various counties in Ireland to relieve the occupiers of lands from grand jury cess; to defray all the expenses of dispensaries, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, and to multiply the number of these institutions until they become quite sufficient for the wants of the sick, the sore, the hurt, the maimed, the blind, the deaf, the diseased or afflicted with any malady, temporary or chronic, amongst the indigent and poor all over Ireland. This is the species of poor-law which would not tend to aggravate any of the mischiefs it was intended to remedy, but would do much good to those who most want relief and assistance.

This letter has run to such length, that I have not space to detail the difficulties in which landlords will involve themselves who interpose by taking upon them the payment to the tithe-owner of the tithe composition, difficulties in point of law, greater embarrassments still in point of fact. But this might lead to terrific consequences, to create a confusion between the landlord's right to rent, which has not as yet been disputed in the most criminal period of our wretched agrarian disturbances, and the landlord's substituted claim to tithe composition; an impost which has been the fruitful source of these agrarian disturbances themselves, replete as they are with every horror and every crime.

I trust our Irish landlords will be cautious how they apply the torch to combustible materials, and once more involve the wretched and persecuted peasantry in all the guilt and all the misery of Whitefeet atrocities.

Inviting your candid criticism upon my plans and views, requesting your aid and co-operation to rouse every parish in Ireland to prepare at once and have ready for presentation on the first day of the next session petitions for the total extinction of tithes,

I have the honour to be,

Respectfully,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THIS HISTORY will certainly be completed in a few days. See advertisement next *Register*. In the last number (20) will be found a leaf, paragraph 220, for the end of volume I.; another, paragraphs 221 and 222, for the beginning of volume II.; and a title-page for the latter volume.

GARDEN SEEDS.

SEVERAL gentlemen have applied for seeds. Due notice shall be given when they are ready for sale.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

THIS history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those de-

tails, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

JERVIS, F. P., Rathbone-place, Oxford-street, upholsterer.

STARLING, W., Bishopsgate-street-without, hatter.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BICKERDIKE, G., Huddersfield, victualer

BANKRUPTS.

BARROW, J., and R. W. Viser, Bristol and Basinghall-street, merchants.

BENTLEY, J., C. Dear, and J. J. M. Richardson, Cheapside, warehousemen.

BONSON, H., Stewart-street, Spitalfields, silk-manufacturer.

DAVIDSON, J., and J. Davis, Garratt-lane, Wandsworth, silk-printers.

GEORGE, H., Bathwick, Somersetshire, bookseller.

GRIFFITH, J., Cateaton-street, wool-broker.

GROOOCK, W. A., Kentish Town, merchant.

HINGSTON, T., Bristol, cabinet-maker.

HORTON, W. and A., Sheffield, button-manufacturers.

MILLETT, J., sen., Fulham, market-gardener.

MOORE, R. M., Bishopsgate-street, oilman.

MORRIS, R., Carnarvon, dealer.

NICHOLLS, T., Lowther Arcade, linen-draper.

PARKER, R., Rupert-street, harness-maker.

POOLE, W., Nottingham, boot and shoe-maker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

RAMSEY, W., Grange, near Edinburgh, gardener.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7.

BANKRUPTS.

BALDWIN, W., Limehouse, coal-merchant.

FORTH, I., Castle-street, Southwark, hatter.

GIRWOOD, G. F., Edgware-road, surgeon.

GOODWYN, G. N., Tavistock-row, Covent-garden, hair-dresser.

HOWARD, N., Denton, Lancashire, hat-manufacturer.

FRY, W. R., Portland-terrace, Portland-town, Middlesex, merchant.

RAIKES, R. M., London-wall, merchant.

ROBSON, J. A., Bank Chambers, Lothbury, discount-agent.

STARLING, W., Bishopsgate-street-without, hatter.

THOMPSON, J. T., Long-acre, upholsterer.

WELLS, W., Nottingham, paper-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 6.—
The arrivals fresh up to this morning's mar-

ket from the home counties have been moderate, but added to the quantity left over from last week, caused the stand to be well filled with samples. Fine white Wheat continues in a very limited supply, and at the opening of the market a few extra prime parcels realized more money, with rather an improved demand for the better qualities, but towards the close of the trade the finer descriptions were noted only steady at the previous rates, while the middling and inferior qualities met with little or no attention, though 1s. less money than this day week would have been accepted to have effected a clearance. For good runs of Kentish red Wheat only 40s. were offered. A partial inquiry existed for low-priced bonded Wheats for export.

Barley was in moderate supply, but as the warmth of the weather prevents the maltsters from commencing their operations, the demand is still on a limited scale. There were some good malting qualities offering, and the prices of last Monday were in general supported.

Malt heavy sale, but prices nominally unaltered.

The fresh arrivals of Oats this morning have been limited; the sale, however, was slow, as dealers as well as consumers refrain from purchasing in anticipation of increased supplies. Good sweet old corn sustained no alteration in the currency, but the new descriptions hung on hand, and must be noted 6d. lower than this day week. Oats in bond met with little attention, and are nominal at 10s. to 11s. Good fresh feed Oats are offering free on board, at from 10s. to 10s. 6d. per barrel.

Beans supported the former quotations, and for bonded qualities an inquiry has existed at 21s. to 22s.

White Peas, owing to the foreign samples pressing on the market, are 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower, but as these qualities are, no doubt, now being worked off, and the duties advancing, prices are likely soon to improve. Maple and Grey 1s. per quarter cheaper.

The Flour Trade rules dull, but the want of wind and water, which is now generally preventing the millers from working, checks any further fall in the price of the article.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s. to 45s.
— White	50s. to 54s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire.....	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
— West Country red.....	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
— Northumberland and Berwickshire red ..	36s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red.....	37s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
— Irish red	34s. to 38s.
— White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malting	31s. to 34s.
— Chevalier	33s. to 36s.

Distilling	28s. to 30s.
Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
Ware	58s. to 62s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	33s. to 37s.
Maple	34s. to —s.
White Boilers	35s. to 41s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
Harrow	33s. to 36s.
Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
Short, small	22s. to 25s.
Poland	22s. to 25s.
Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Berwick	24s. to 26s.
Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
Potato	23s. to 24s.
Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, October 6.

This day's supply of Beasts was for the time of the year, good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers but limited. Trade was with prime Mutton, somewhat brisk, at an advance; with prime Beef dull at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; whilst the middling and inferior kinds, as also Lamb, Veal, and Pork, experienced a tardy sale, at Friday's quotations.

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